and were enfeoffed to the Kounta tribe, or Dag-Ech-Cheich. The origin of the oldest known families goes back no more than two generations. They are the Ehellellou, who have left descendants, the Badahol and Mohamed /families/, today extinct, and the Rati whose descendants are now settled among the Taitok. 564

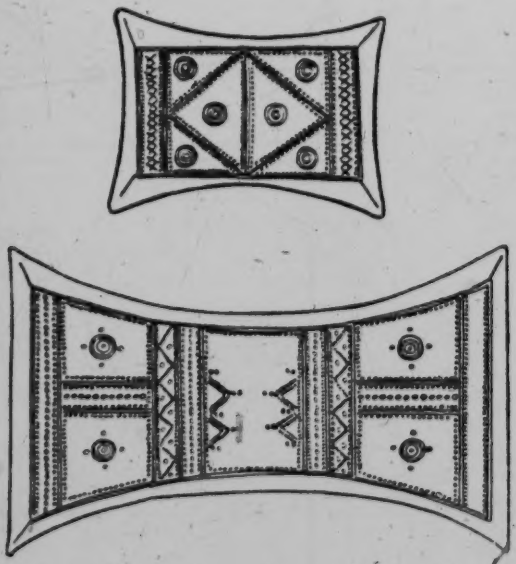

Fig. 19. Silver amulets worn by men on the crests of their hairdo.

At the time of Amenokal Attici (1899) there was a chief of the blacksmiths named Alamine whose role was to oversee and distribute the work and to reduce the newly captured blacksmiths from the Sudan to obedience. He also had judiciary power. 564 326 [301 789 331] [697]

Formerly endogamy was the general rule, but since the occupation it has been violated numerous times, and artisans often take their wives from the Harratin and the Eklan. 564 [582 177]

Their industry is limited to the fabrication of jewels, padlocks, knives, and a few wooden utensils. They are particularly occupied with repairing worn articles.

/179/ In the Sudan the Enaden are much more numerous. That is why industries there are found to be much more developed, even more so since more varied and more abundant raw materials are at their disposal. 564

841 The cessation of the menses during pregnancy is interpreted
843 discerningly, that is, that the baby is fed by the discharge and rejects the waste products from it at birth (placenta).

When a woman cannot have a child, her husband goes to find
842 a marabout who sells him an amulet which the woman must wear
[788] next to her skin. The wife, for her part, goes to pray near old
[782] tombs known to be those of venerated people. She asks God's
769] pardon for her faults and asks death to intercede for her with the creator. If the woman conceives, the husband takes the marabout
[431] an offering which sometimes consists of as much as several head of livestock.

After confinement the wife has no sexual relations with her
846 husband for a month and ten days. On the fortieth day the husband
834 makes his wife a present of sandals and new clothing.
431

Nursing lasts on the average from two to two and one-half
862 years. Boys, however, are weaned six months later than girls, for they are more fragile, it seems, and need stronger food.

In camp the young child is placed on a cushion, lying on his
854 stomach, and kept in place by a cloth band which passes over his loins and ties under the cushion. His wrists are also sometimes attached. Sometimes a wooden frame made of arches is placed over him; it holds up cloths and protects him from flies, light,
[184] and sandstorms, all at the same time. The Ioullimmiden Tuareg use little cradles which are hooked to the arches of the tent.

At moving time the mother carries her child on her back or on her hip, held by a loincloth knotted over the breasts. This
[171] method, also used by the Sudanese, does not seem to disturb the child, in spite of the /286/ mother's movements, which are some-
[853] times quite sudden. If he cries, she nurses him until all the milk is gone; there is no question of hours or measure for feedings.

The long nursing period as well as the carrying system causes
826 the woman's breasts to sag rapidly after the first child. For the
851 Tuareg, however, aesthetics count less than motherhood, which
517 ennobles the woman.

787 sometimes the Koran as an amulet, but that they had kept its fatalism. (1) Many authors also take pleasure in pointing out

1. Essai sur la littérature des Berbères /Essay on the Literature of the Berbers/, p. 388.

their more than superficial polish in matters of Islamism.

781 In spite of all this, we must not exaggerate the degree of
797 irreligion of the Tuareg. Since the French occupation, the
777 action of marabouts who cross the country trading is growing
648 slowly but surely. The state of lethargy into which the suppression of their life of brigandage has thrown them is gradually pushing them toward religion, and it is becoming more and more common
[517 565] to see young nobles kill time by reciting in front of a small Koran board.

771 Superstition is very strong in them. They have not succeeded
[789] in breaking away from their ancient beliefs, and they wear a quantity of amulets which are often pagan in origin (jackal's foot, lizard's head, hyena skin, etc.).

[776] One observes certain noble families /307/ that, along with orthodox saints, invoke mysterious personages who can only be ancient minor gods they never got rid of. (1) In the old legends

1. Gautier, La conquête du Sahara, in Vermale, op. cit., p. 184.

of the Ahaggar, Father de Foucauld has found the names of some of them: Tamâres, Bourdân, Tâssoud, Ouerdaz, Noulana, Radès. The Ihaggaren used to call on them to make their wishes come
[777 982] true, but today these personages have fallen into oblivion, and only a few old people still remember their names. (2)

2. In Vermale, op. cit., p. 184.

Finally, they wear around their necks thick cords of red 291
or green silk or braided wool, which they call "el mejdoud" 789
and which are used to suspend a Koran, a book dealing with
cabalistic matter, or amulets.

Amulets (everyone has some) are worn on the back or on 789
the chest. They are enclosed in a leather or metal sheath.
I saw one Tuareg who had some twenty that he wore, all
gathered together, on his chest.

Finally, they are shod with large flat sandals from the Aïr, 291
"ir'atimen" ⵉⵔⴰⵜⵉⵎⵏ , or with leather sandals made on [439]
the spot and called "imerkaden" ⵉⵎⴻⵔⴽⴰⴷⴻⵏ .

Let us not forget the arm bracelet "ahbedj" ⴰⵀⴱⴻⵊ , 301
plural "ihebdjan" ⵉⵀⴱⴻⵊⴰⵏ , like a snake, which, they 789
say, gives strength to the biceps when one strikes a blow.

At rather important meetings and palavers, the richest 292
come dressed in burnooses bought at Ghat and decorated on [556]
the shoulders with attractive silver embroidery. Sometimes it
also happens that if the burnoose has no embroidery, the owner
prefers to wear it inside out, so as to display the yellow and
green silk lining which decorates the edge and lower corner of
the burnoose. Where will vanity stop?

The burnoose is not put on, but just put over the shoulders.

Some poor Tuareg are dressed in clothes of tanned leather. 291
/38/ 556

The woman's dress consists chiefly of:

A sort of skirt, called "asedjebes"
A shirt with sleeves, "takammist"
A woolen haïk, "abrour'"
A veil placed on her head, "ikerhi"

According to her means, she wears the following jewelry: 301
Silver bracelets, "ihebdjan-oui-n-azerouf" 556
Glass bracelets, "tahouka," plural "tahoukaouin"
Glass-bead bracelets, "denguela," plural "denguelaten"
Blacelets of the horns of goats or gazelles, made
in two halves which are encased one in the other
with copper and which are called "iouakane"

4: Benhazera [redacted] (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

Earrings in the shape of large rings, "tizabbatine" 301 [55-6]
Rings, "tisseq," plural "tisser'ine"
Also, like the men, she wears amulets, "tira." [789]
Finally, in summer she wears a large parasol hat ("medols" 291
in Arabic), which she sometimes decorates with red wool and which is called "tili" (shade).

Concerning the veil: whence comes this use of the veil among the Tuareg? Even those involved do not know.

Sidi ag Keradji, however, gave me an explanation which 173
is quite without validity but shows the craze which the Tuareg 291
have to attribute an Arab origin to themselves. This is his story:

"At the caputre of Mecca, the Prophet Mohammed was mounted on a 'cidah' (female mehari). He had wrapped his head with his 'ihram' (a garment peculiar to the pilgrim who enters the sacred territory of Mecca). It is since this time that the Tuareg have worn the veil."

What is certain is that this is a very old custom, since Arabian writers have for several centuries called /39/ the Tuareg by the name of "Ahl-el-Litham," or "people of the veil."

Did they adopt this custom for utilitarian reasons, to pro- 173
tect their sight from the brilliance of the sun's rays and to 183
insure their eyes against the dust which rises from the sand? 291
To this question they reply in the negative. It is primarily, they say, a question of modesty and dignity. A Tuareg must never show his mouth, the door through which he introduces food into his body. That is shameful. Even at night he does not take off his veil. When he enters a camp foreign to his 183
tribe, he must lower his veil completely over his eyes so as 291
not to be suspected of having come to seduce. In meetings 576
he also veils himself completely, perhaps in order better to hide his feelings.

made the pilgrimage /59/ to Mecca), have joined the order of the Senusi /Sanusiyyah. Ed./ on their way to Djer'boub. 792

But I doubt whether this affiliation is really sincere. All the members do not want to wear their beads around their necks, but keep them in their pockets or in their luggage while they are traveling. They say that if they wear them openly they would be accused of wanting to seduce women! Finally, they are not allowed to wear them any time that they do a reprehensible deed, that they have relations, even with their lawful wives, etc.

On the other hand, having remained naive and superstitious, they all believe in the efficacy of amulets, "tira," with which they are covered. There are even some who hang them on the necks of their meharis. 789

At each new moon the Tuareg says his prayer. His hands open like a book, he looks at the evening star and expresses the wish that he may be alive at the next moon. 782 788

At the feast of Mouloud (birth of the Prophet), they hold out their hands, saying, "Asarouf" (pardon), in order to have their sins forgiven. But if there is no taleb in the tribe to remind them of the exact date, they forget and do not think of it.

Chapter VIII

Superstitions. Beliefs

The Tuareg are very superstitious. Everywhere they see genii and demons, in the mountains, in the trees, in water-skins, etc. 771 776

Thus, in camp they do not want to go to bed beside water-skins or ashes, because of the genii, "alhinen" ⵍⵃⵉⵏⴻⵏ, /60/ or ghosts, "kel esouf" ⵍⵇⵓⵙⵓⴼ (people of the void), who live there.

When they want to stretch out at the foot of the tree called "el yatil" in Arabic and "tadjart" ⊕ⵜ⵿ in Tamashek (a kind of acacia), which is inhabited by jinn, they must first wound it with a stone, and stones are always to be found at the foot of these trees. One can also see the wounds made in the bark. 776 824 789

The "teborak" (Balanites aegyptica) is also a haunted tree. If one wants to rest under its shade, it is first necessary to break seven of the tree's thorns.

There are also "kel esouf" in the place where an animal has had its throat cut. 776

Mount Oudane is haunted, as are many others. [823]

These superstitions are probably survivals of their old religion, before their conversion to Islamism. Like them, "The Arabs of the pre-Islamic period worshipped jinn, or genii. The deserts and mountains where one sometimes gets lost for entire weeks are full of beings of this kind.... They can do much harm and much good.... They live in rocks, trees, or statues. Each tribe, or sometimes a group of tribes, had its special jinni; its rock, its tree, its own image, before which an appointed family carried out priestly duties" (1). 174 771 776

1. Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme, by R. Dozy, pages 5 and 6.

The Tuareg have many other superstitions. Thus nobles would never kill a "uran" (varanus), which in Tamashek is called "ar,'ata" • ⵔ⵰ⵄⵜ⵰ , and a fortiori would not eat it. Sidi ag Keradji and Aziouel ag Ser'ada told me that the uran is the maternal uncle of the Tuareg, and Sidi told me the following legend: "Seven nobles had killed a camel belonging to Sidna Nouh (Hoah). Among them there was a noble Tuareg. To punish them God changed them, one into an uran, another into a jackal, a third into a chameleon, etc. /61/ The uran was the noble Tuareg. The camel that was killed is now in the sky: it is the Great Bear. The Polar Star, 'Bel Hadi', is its head." 565 825 773 784 [821]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air

565 651 The noble Tuareg may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance, to guard domestic animals or to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by vassals; this was also practiced in the past. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals. The [178] vassals may refuse any gift or service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are [789] even noble Tuareg who wear amulettes which are believed to induce vassals to give the things wanted.

565 It is evident that it was very profitable for noble Tuareg to have vassals. But these had also many advantages from their relation to noble masters. The nobility [721] formed a particular class of warriors and raiders who were constantly roaming the country looking for enemies. They protected the caravan roads, and allowed the vassals to use their camels on trading expeditions. The noble Tuareg would also [422] leave a surplus of their livestock among the vassals who had usufructs of these animals.

The master of a temażlait-relation might ask his vassals to follow him on raids, but he could not summon them for warfare. This right belonged exclusively to the [643] Amenokal, who would also receive *abellaɣ* or half of the booty taken by all vassals [727] of his drum-group. It is interesting to note, however, that if vassals borrowed for [426] raiding riding camels from their noble masters, the latter received a tribute also known as *abellaɣ*, comprising half of the booty left when one half had already been given to the Amenokal. The temażlait-masters were apparently without any judicial [692] authority, which rested in the hands of the Amenokal. We may say that the smaller units within the drum-group – the temażlait-relations – were predominantly economic units, but structurally they had traits in common with the political unit, the drum-group.

The Origin of Tuareg Political Systems.

565 192 This concluding chapter on the origin of Tuareg political systems can adequately open with an analysis of the terms for the classes here referred to as noble and vassal Tuareg.

In Air as well as in other Southern Tuareg groups all Tuareg whatever their social status, are sometimes known as *Imacheɣen* (sing. *Amacheɣ*), but correctly this word should be used only for Tuareg of the noble class. Nicolas says that the word refers to such qualities as "vaillance" and "bravade" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 188f.). In Northern Tuareg dialect the equivalent word is *Imohaɣ* (sing. *Amahaɣ*). It is used for both noble and vassal Tuareg, and is probably derived from the verb *aheɣ* meaning "to raid" or "to plunder" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 318. – Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 665–674. – Prasse 1959, p. 200). Among the Northern Tuareg it may originally have been used for "noble Tuareg", who nowadays both in Ahaggar and in Tassili-n-Ajjer are known as *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*). It is very possible that this latter word is identical with *Hoouara* – a common name for several Berber tribes

757 /111 cont./ Jackal meat, eaten with decoctions of
278 rellachem for three days, is the best remedy for gonorrhea; cloves will aid in the healing.

Jackal meat is also used to cure syphilis, but in addition in the morning one must drink milk in which colocynth has been soaked; while this milk is being drunk, skewers of fat to be eaten afterward are cooked; clear soup is drunk during the entire day. After three days small, white granulations are seen in the stools, indicating the success of the treatment.

Smallpox formerly was treated in a sufficiently efficacious manner by digging a hole in the sand and heating it as if to make méchoui /roasted sheep/, although not so hot; the patient then lay in the hole and was covered with sand. After that there was nothing to do but wait.

The treatment for measles requires the patient to be kept warm, while eating hare, gazelle, or wild sheep meat.

Toothaches cannot last when treated as follows: fill the mouth with onion seeds, ouzouaz, wheat, and salt; keep these medicaments in the closed mouth for half an hour. When adolescents break out in pimples, which disfigure them, it is essential that /112/ onion seeds be burned and the smoke inhaled, which, it is said, makes all the worms leave immediately. Around a boil, apply a paste made of milk and powdered tanzet (a kind of Sudanese bean).

Magic Rites

789 This is a very difficult subject to treat, for the secrets
754 are jealously guarded by those who possess them and want to profit from them, or are carefully hidden by those who know them in a disinterested fashion but who lack confidence in their questioner or fear reprisals.

The Ahaggar, situated at the frontiers of Islam and the black world, is without doubt impregnated with magic customs; the superficial Islamism of the population, which retains an

789
754

/112 cont./ underlying belief in genii, often not avowed but present, lends itself admirably to secret magic rites.

754 However, it seems that the Tuareg, although very superstitious, do not use maleficent spells, a specialty of the women of the Tidikelt, the Ajjers, and the Sudan. The most famous of the evil spells is the "borbor," chiefly the work of the Negresses.

The borbor acts in two ways: either it tends to poison an individual that one wants out of the way, or it serves simply to diminish the forces of someone one wants revenge against or that one wants to attract (in the last case, it acts something like a love potion). In any case the borbor produces its effects only over a long period of time; it is personal and is prepared for a specific purpose; to be effective, it must be administered cunningly.

It appears to be impossible to obtain an exact recipe for borbor. Here are the chief ingredients that enter into its composition; the proportioning is determined by a specialist.

The basic ingredient seems to be the brain of someone recently dead; it must be sought at night in a cemetery. The story is told of a woman who, having wanted to steal the brain of a recently deceased marabout, was found dead, struck down /113/ by the power of the defunct, and clutching in her clenched hand scraps of her theft.

Once obtained, the excipient is kept in a vase so that the elements effective for a given individual may be added. The list of these is long; let us mention all the external secretions of the intended victim: sweat, preferably from under the armpit; tears; earwax; urine; blood (preferably menstrual); semen. Also collected are hair, nail clippings, dirt from the arms and nails, soil walked on with the bare feet. All or part of these ingredients are added to the excipient, mixed, then cooked. This diabolic cooking is done at night by two initiated women, entirely nude. After a certain time, the pot rises in the air and revolves in the closed room; the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays, as in the past, base their economy mainly on camels and goats. I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats and their vegetable food from caravan trading with the aid of camels.

Formerly, the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, which were owned exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years ago the vassals had no camels, but he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). It is, however, confirmed by many Tuareg that the vassals originally had no camels, and that throughout the 19th century they had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals, and even to-day goats and butter form part of the *tiwsi*-payments. The noble Tuareg, on the other hand, allowed their particular vassals to trade with their camels against the payment of a certain amount of vegetable food products which to-day also form part of most *tiwsi*-payments. They allowed their vassals also to have usufructs of such animals as could not be taken with them on their migrations. Noble Tuareg of to-day continue to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble Tuareg frequently ask gifts of the vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they obtain part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops; this is considered an old privilege of the nobility. The noble Tuareg of to-day may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance, to guard domestic animals or to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by vassals. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals, who can refuse any gift or service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are even noble Tuareg who wear amulets which are believed to induce vassals to donate the things required.

It would seem that the economic relationships forming the basis of the Tuareg political system in the north would arise so to speak automatically from two distinct cultures which met each other in the desert: a camel-breeding culture of a Berber-speaking people now known as the noble Tuareg, and a goat-breeding culture of an ancient Berber-speaking population which now constitutes the vassals.

Some Tuareg traditions seem to indicate that political systems based on class-division arose in this way in the north, but we have to admit that other traditions contradict this. Below I attempt to elucidate Tuareg history in Ahaggar by means of native traditions to which, for practical reasons, I allot definite numbers.

Tradition A. All Tuareg have a common origin as they descend from a woman named *Lemtuna*, who is also the ancestress of certain Berbers living around Ḥadamas in Tripolitania. Most Berbers of Morocco descend from *Lemtuna*'s sister who became the ancestress of the *Beraber*. This tradition is widely known in Ahaggar.

Tradition B.1. This tradition is a very common explanation of the origin of the class-division in Ahaggar: Long ago two Islamic women of the *Beraber* immigrated to the oasis of Silet from Tafilelt in Morocco. One of these women named *Ti-n-Hinan* was noble while the other woman named *Takama*